



# LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE

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SEGAL ON ICE  
DRAFT RESISTER AS POLITICAL PRISONER

By Toni Wellman

LIBERATION News Service

(Editor's note: The following article is by Toni Wellman, a close friend of Jeff Segal. Jeff is a former national secretary of SDS who is serving a four year prison term in the Federal penitentiary in Springfield, Missouri. Aside from relatives, Toni has been the only visitor Jeff has been allowed to receive.)

Jeff Segal refused Uncle Sam's offer to kill innocents abroad some five or six years ago, when there were precious few draft counselors around. He was tried for induction refusal and was out on appeal on his own recognizance. At the same time, Jeff had become involved in the movement, as past SDS national secretary, SDS draft program coordinator and as an organizer of Oakland's Stop the Draft Week (he is one of the Oakland Seven, indicted on conspiracy charges as a result of that anti-draft activity).

And then he was in New York City when Columbia University did its thing, and the Chicago courts decided that the fact he was in the city was proof enough -- you know how outside agitators work; they're very sneaky, they just have to HIT TOWN and it blows up. Jeff did get arrested in New York just prior to Columbia, participating in a Rudi Dutschke support demo at Rockefeller Center.

WELL, here come da judge, and he decided this was TOO MUCH, Brother Jeff had gone TOO FAR, Columbia University was all HIS fault. And it was time to lay a bit of terror on the white man, who was getting a bit uppitty -- time for a white political bust.

So on a Thursday last May, Jeff was told to appear in Chicago district court the next Monday morning. The reason for the appearance was unspecified, but Jeff expected at worst to have his unlimited travel "privileges" curtailed to the Chicago area.

Verdict: his bail was revoked and he was thrown into prison, right from the courtroom, without being able to see anyone. The prison was Cook County jail, one of the nation's most "in-

ficient." The thing about Cook County is that it's used as both a federal and a state house, which means there are lots of lifers; and young 'uns are thrown right in with them. One Syndicate man took a liking to Jeff and his nickname Buggy (for in prison terminology the word "jeff" means to lick ass, suck up to the warden). So this friend, a good ruler (for it is said by sages that the prisons are truly ruled internally by the mafia elite), saw to it that Jeff was removed from his cell, which he shared with a 200-pound faggot.

So Cook County held Jeff, we thought. But when a group of us came to visit one Saturday, we were told he was no longer in residence, address unknown; he had been moved, but nobody seemed to be quite able to tell us where (classically, he had been removed in the dead of night and was driven for ten hours without being told his destination).

OK, you pig, I'll find out where in the fuck you've hidden him. And we were told at last by the marshall's office, after a long and pushy inquiry and lawyer-threats and all -- he had been taken to a federal hospital in Springfield, Missouri. Now Jeff had several ailments, as most good radicals develop under tensions, and we understood his transfer to mean that some physical pain had become strong enough to require hospitalization. And so we hitched a ride to Springfield, Missouri, one thousand miles from nowhere, and got in to see him, due to a large mistake on the part of the prison.

He's not ill at all. He's in this federal hospital prison because they need labor to run the hospital: clerks, yard-keepers, etc.

There are about 90 draft resisters there, all but seven of them Jehovah's Witnesses (who don't mingle with the rest). Of these seven, six are straight Resistance-type refusers. Jeff is considered a political prisoner, brought in on his draft charge when they decided they would prefer him silent for a time.

The prison doesn't look too bad when you drive up, it's got gardens in front and one of those spacious lawns, and you can see buildings in a U-shaped arrangement behind the main building and the metal fences with those rolls of barbed-wire atop them. And so it looks like this place isn't THAT bad, but then you find that this is a maximum security pen (most draft cases are put in minimum places) and they've found a simple way to make their security maximum--the prison is built underground. All the offices the men work in, the places they spend their whole day, are under motherearth, in three layers of subterranean darkness. And to travel from one side of the prison to the other, you don't cross the inner mall, but must go through a system of tunnels, where you are stopped every so many yards to prove that you do indeed belong there.

The men are let out into the exercise yard once a day, of course, but all that does is remind them that, yes, there is a sky, for there's nothing else in the yard--they see no flowers, grass, trees; just a plain fenced-in piece of ground where they can play softball (there are several teams) or run in a well-worn circle. The ultimate goal of the prison for its victims is lethargy--nothing to do most of the time, dull office jobs, food that's a marvel in high starch content (makes 'em fat and slow) and for those who talk too much the hospital does a good deal of tranquilizer-dispensing (we'll get 'em one way or another) and for the very difficult, those who mutter in public about conditions, there's the hole, the windowless dank dark heart-of-darkness dungeon, no company at all, or exercise, and all the bread and water you can eat once every few days.

The food deserves mention--hot cereal and grits for breakfast, bread and grits for lunch, bread and grits and gravy for dinner, the latter

sometimes with something lumpy which might pass as meat if you weren't careful and knew no better than to eat it. Dullness, boredom, anxiety, frustration (can you imagine being 27 and not being able to fuck for four years?).

The seven draft prisoners have come together in a very tight group for protection, and even amongst themselves, the smallest difficulty can be cause for large problems.

The first few weeks the prison kept Jeff in solitary ("orientation"), which was very hard on his head. Since then, the hassles have been out of sight. Most prisons have a rulebook for inmates, but at Springfield, there's no such thing. So they can give the prisoners trouble about anything they want.

Mail sent to him from the outside has been returned to sender, some of it has been neither returned nor given to him. He has to have the persons he can write to approved, and the approved list has thus far been limited to six, mostly family. He's restricted as to the number of letters he can write and receive, and their length, as well as content (everything is censored, of course, incoming as well as outgoing mail). He is allowed 16 visiting hours a month, but those who have been OK'd to visit so far have only been myself and his family.

There IS a library, mostly bad novels and cowboy stories, except there was a Trot in the prison in the thirties, and he managed to get Das Kapital in, which Jeff stumbled on one day in the library and thought he had finally spaced out. As a special treat, the prisoners were allowed extra TV time to view the Republican National Yawn-In (though not, for some reason, the Democratic Smash-In, funny). Library time is restricted. Jeff can only get there on Saturday morning, and that's also the only time he can hit the canteen, for what it's worth. He's allowed \$20 a month spending money, which must be sent ONLY in non-stealable form (money his grandmother sent him never reached Jeff, although her letter was returned to her sans cash). It is for essentials like shaving cream, slippers, etc. which they have to buy.

Segal's job is clerk in the Protestant office.

As to where Jeff's head is at, he realizes what's happened to him and he's mad: "If it's hard to get into my head, you must be patient. To begin with is the prison scene where to keep people from knowing what's really inside is a necessity of existence. If the powers that be really knew what was going on in my head then I really would be up that creek without a canoe."

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Some thoughts from Jeff: "Soul-fires are precious things, they are the sparks of revolution. There is all the grimness and anguish you see in them, true, but they also represent the building of humanity. To see and feel those fires is to know people getting up and saying to all, including themselves, we have strength and power, we are beautiful. We will destroy this damned old world and build a new one. I see creation and beauty in those fires for they're destroying degradation and oppression. This is all a part of understanding that creativity is violence. It's emotion raw, pure, simple. Love, hate, anguish, compassion all rolled into reds and blues and blacks and oranges. It's exhilarating to feel and see it and be a part of it. I remember having these kinds of feelings before coming in here and to a small extent having those twinges of conscience--thinking maybe I shouldn't think this way; but if nothing else happens as a result of my stay in here there will still be the purging of those remnants of bourgeois conscience. I know what those feelings are and revel in them. This hasn't meant a loss of feelings of compassion and love but the turning of the little fatty pieces in it into muscle. To love and hate with real passion means our freedom and humanity. I come back to the blues again--to cry is really to know how to laugh....

We become only half sensitive to our environment--a defense against going insane, for to be very open is to be inundated by so many bad vibrations and human miseries that we couldn't cope with them and would go buggie...

We also talk a great deal which has forced me to rethink and get down to rapping on really basic stuff for a change instead of high falootin' theory. Been good to work back through that

stuff learning new things and turning folks on to things. Makes me feel at least a little bit useful and not quite as unhappy with myself as I usually have been. Connects into sexual things--like, my body ain't my own, it belongs to the State.

Have, the longer my stay has been, turned on to a whole new set of "heroes" - on the top of my new list (not replacing old ones but sharing their places) is Jean Genet. Been a big change for me over the past 2 years. At that time I didn't think too much of him. Now really dig that thief/pervert/revolutionary. Being a poet-crook is such a fine thing. That's where we ought to start to move, in the alleys and sewers down to the depths of the society, down to where the rest of the social deviants build their lives. To groove on 'em learn from them the tools of their trade and recruit into the Revolutionary Streetgang - the Leavenworth Bank Robbery, Gun Running Confidence Men and Marching Society, Inc. Here we go America and watch out. There are almost-half-a-million cats behind bars and at least 30 million more on the streets - America, you're floating on a swamp, Your fine cities and theaters, banks and hospitals are rooted in a fetid slime a mile deep and an everlasting long. And the people Your Clean Cats have pushed in to the sewers and out into the slime have found a way to live down there. It's not pretty living, rough and brutal, but its cleaner than all of the antiseptic soap and spray deoderant and scented shit paper you can produce: human, not plastic. There are now millions of us living and breeding down under the City's foundation angry and mad who have just begun to realize what we can do. The swamp people are growing and we're going to crawl on out and push the City floating on top way down under. That's the kind of thing I'm now soul-digging instead of just mind-digging.

Sure people are rough and dirty down here but I'd rather be part of that than part of the plastic cleans, who go around with dirty rear-ends anyway and think they're clean changing their underwear five times a day but not really. Making a lot of money which is only the socially

imposed and recognized way of stealing. Since they make the rules they win the game. And as long as we accept the rules we are bound to lose. Argh--it would be so much better to be together and feel these things--it's hard to go on. Would like to write lots more like this but must wait to shake the Big Brother.

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Jeff was sentenced to four years, the maximum term, and will probably come up for parole after two years. He hates it when his name isn't mentioned at mail call; the scare trip of every prisoner is to think he's been forgotten by the outer world. And Jeff has no way of knowing that mail to him isn't getting through.

Letters to him are still being sent back; messages can be sent through Toni Wellman, 227 W. 11, New York City or through Jeff's brother Allen Segal, 220 Danville Ave, Los Gatos, Calif. If you want to try to get through directly, the address is Jeff Segal, 9689 PC, Box 4000, Springfield, Missouri, 65802. Keep trying to write.

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(Note to editors: See photo of Jeff Segal on graphics page P-1 of this packet).

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#### LONG-HAIRS BAN LONG-HAIRED

NEW YORK (LNS) -- New York's long-hair establishment is getting up tight about long-haired youth.

The Jimi Hendrix Experience has been permanently banned from hallowed Carnegie Hall because, according to Ioana Satescu, the hall's booking manager: "We have information that in his other appearances in other places the audience got very much out of hand. They destroyed furniture and draperies. We cannot afford to take that chance."

Turning down an offer from the concert promoter to post a surety bond, the management said it would not permit Hendrix to play there under any circumstances.

Apparently Philharmonic Hall is less worried about interior desecrators. The Experience has been re-scheduled there for November 28.

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#### SOUTH CAROLINA TROOPERS WHITEWASHED

by Seth

LIBERATION News Service/Ojus Sun

COLUMBIA, S.C. (LNS) -- A federal grand jury in the heart of Strom Thurmond country refused to indict nine South Carolina highway patrolmen for the murders of three young blacks shot during what black leaders call "the Orangeburg Massacre."

The 23 member grand jury, composed of South Carolina residents, returned "no bills" after hearing eight days of testimony from newsmen, black students and law enforcement men who were present on Feb. 8, when the patrolmen fired on a crowd of black students, killing three and wounding 30 others. In addition, the U.S. Justice Dept. had presented testimony against the state troopers involving violations of the black student's civil rights.

U.S. District Judge J. Robert Martin refused to allow disclosure of the exact charges against the troopers or their names because he didn't want their families inconvenienced.

Col P.F. Thompson, commander of the state highway patrol, said the decision was "only proper and correct if they expect law enforcement officers to do their job in South Carolina."

Dr. Maceo Jance, Jr., president of South Carolina State College, said he did not witness the shootings on the edge of his campus, but, "based on the information I have, and that which the students gave me, I think there was sufficient evidence for indictments."

State Attorney General Daniel McLeod said the jury finding "speaks for itself... The matter should now lay at rest for good."

(The students have laid to rest for good since Feb. 8.)

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#### LEO HUBERMAN DIES AT 65

PARIS (LNS) -- Leo Huberman, co-founder and co-editor of Monthly Review, America's leading independent socialist magazine, died in Paris Nov. 8 of a heart attack. He was 65 years old.

At the time of his death, Mr. Huberman was arranging for a French edition of the magazine, which already has editions in Spanish and Italian.

Mr. Huberman, and his collaborator, Paul Sweezy, founded their magazine in 1949 as a response to what they saw as ideological and tactical faults in the existing leftist groups, particularly the Communist Party. In a certain sense, Huberman was one of the intellectual and ideological fathers of the New Left.

Huberman and Sweezy, along with the late Stanford University economist Paul Baran, were among the first socialists to place special emphasis on third world revolutions. The Huberman-Sweezy book "Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution" was one result of this interest. Huberman also authored several books on his own, the best known of which are "We the People" (1932) and "Man's Worldly Goods" (1955).

Mr. Huberman's body was cremated in Paris. A memorial service will be held in New York in the near future.

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#### CHILDREN TEARGASSED IN NO. CAROLINA

by Seth  
LNS/Ojus Sun

SWAN QUARTER, N.C. (LNS) -- State police and Sheriff's deputies used tear gas here recently to rout about 100 black children aged 9-14 from the county welfare dept. building.

An unidentified black girl was injured when she fell out of a second story window during the melee.

Pratt Williamson, a local funeral director who observed the incident, said the girl fell when she tried to drop a window screen on a deputy standing on the ground. It was after that, Williamson said, that Police lobbed tear gas into the building.

James Barrow of SCLC charged police used billy clubs on the children and, in addition, gave clubs to several local whites to help drive the children out.

Hyde County Sheriff Charlie J. Cahoon could not be reached for comment, nor could state

police in the area.

State wildlife officers were also reported to have been involved in the assault.

The children call themselves "Martin Luther King Nonviolent Crusaders." They marched into the welfare building Friday to protest the department's threat to cut off aid to black parents whose children are boycotting county schools.

About 20 officers arrived, according to Barrow, and spent an hour evacuating employees from the building. Then, under a barrage of tear gas, they moved in.

Barrow said children hid under tables, chairs, and inside closets to escape police. He said he knew of no arrests, although a number of injuries were reported.

Parents who tried to get their children out of the building were also gassed, he said. Some children had their clothes ripped off in the fracas.

The welfare office was closed because of the gas still lingering in its rooms.

Nearly all of the county's 855 black school children have been boycotting schools because of "unequal and unrepresentative desegregation plans." There is a total enrollment of about 1400 pupils in elementary and high schools in this small seaport county located near the Pamlico Sound.

According to Barrow, Welfare Director W.A. Miller sent letters to parents of children boycotting schools threatening to cut off welfare payments unless the children return to school. Blacks have been out of school since Sept. 5.

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#### MOTHER GOOSE

Little Miss Muffet

Sat on her Ass

Eating her Birth Control Pills  
(Dial-a-Fuck)

Along came a Father

And said, "Oh don't bother"

We got Rhythm; Do as God Wills.

--From the Oct.17 Movement  
A feminist organization

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BLACK MONDAY:  
OAKLAND SEVEN TRIAL SET FOR DEC. 2  
LIBERATION News Service

BERKELEY, Cal. (LNS) -- December 2 is a kind of Black Monday for the Movement. The Oakland Seven are finally going to trial, some 14 months after the criminal conspiracy they allegedly mounted in connection with the Oakland Stop the Draft Week.

It turns out that Dec. 2 is the same day that Eldridge Cleaver is scheduled to have a parole trial, while the House Un-American Activities Committee renews its hearings in Washington.

The trial lawyer for the Oakland Seven is Charles Garry, the Bay Area attorney who defended Huey Newton.

The following report is from Terry Cannon, an editor of The Movement and one of the Oakland Seven:

Since the conspiracy indictment of the Oakland Seven, many more conspiracy raps are being handed to movement activists. The latest is a conspiracy charge lodged against the leaders of the Moses Hall seize-in on the Berkeley campus in support of Eldridge Cleaver's class on racism. What happens to the Seven will set a precedent for what happens to other activists in future trials.

The defense lawyers are preparing two suits that may delay the beginning of the trial. They are seeking an injunction in Federal court to stop the trial from taking place on the grounds that it has a "chilling effect" on the exercise of free speech and free assembly. They are also going to challenge the Grand Jury itself as unrepresentative of the Oakland community. The Grand Jury is made up of exactly those ruling interests which were challenged by the demonstration. To be indicted by such a Grand Jury is to be indicted by a jury of your enemies, if you are anti-war, anti-imperialist, young, angry or non-white.

Assuming that these offensive tactics fail, the trial will be a long one, perhaps two months. A strong case will be built against

unconstitutionality and repressive use of the conspiracy law, as well as the use of undercover agents by the Oakland Police.

The Seven do not intend to claim that they did not organize Stop the Draft Week. They did and are proud of it. They will claim that they did not secretly conspire, that everything they did was out in the open and in front of the public. They will show that the conspiracy law can and is being used against even the most unmilitant of demonstrations as well.

It will be argued in court that those involved in the Oakland Induction Center demonstrations, as well as other marches, petition drives, sit-ins and street actions are the ones who really brought about the halt in the bombing, the start of peace talks and the candidacies of McCarthy and Kennedy. The issue of the Vietnam war will be a basic part of the defense.

Outside the courtroom, while the Seven are on trial, other movement activists will hold a tribunal on law enforcement practices. The organizers hope to educate people about how the law is used to force guilty pleas by means of police brutality, excessive bail, restrictive probation and parole, police spies, deals and economic pressure on defense attorneys and the courts.

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(Note to editors: The above report by Terry Cannon will appear in the next issue of The Movement, a bright tabloid-size journal for activists published at 55 Colton st., San Francisco, Cal. 94103; subs just \$2 a year.)  
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MORE RESISTER THAN THOU

SEATTLE, Wash. (LNS) -- How active you are in your objection to the draft is becoming a criterion for how stiff a penalty you get.

Judge William Beeks sentenced two draft resisters to different terms in prison recently. Mike Leavy, an organizer for the Draft Resistance in Seattle, got a full five years, with parole possible only after he serves two and a half years. Bob Casey got only two years because, the judge said, he was "sincere" but not a "troublemaker."

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## DETROIT DYNAMITE BUST: WERE FREAKS FRAMED?

LIBERATION News Service

DETROIT (LNS) -- Police have arrested and levelled conspiracy charges against eleven young people in connection with a series of dynamite bombings in the Detroit area.

The arrests were made in Detroit and two suburban cities Nov. 10 and 11. The cops described the nine men and two women as "anti-establishment types" and "hippie types," and charged them with "conspiracy to place explosives with intent to cause damage to property," a rap that carries a 25-year maximum prison sentence.

The Detroit police officials who directed the arrests, Inspector Ray Chlopan, commanding officer of the Special Investigation Bureau, and Detective Lt. William McCoy, commanding officer of the bureau's Demonstration Detail, would not explain on what grounds these particular individuals had been arrested.

Movement activists in Detroit charged a frame-up, arguing that the Detroit police have been using "concentration camp police state tactics" for some time against street people. Already, a defense fund has been organized (c/o The Fifth Estate, 1107 West Warren St., Detroit, Michigan 48201.)

The use of the conspiracy charge is especially disconcerting, since it is based on a catch-all statute. No act need be committed in order to justify a conspiracy charge--all the authorities have to prove is that people got together and talked about committing a "crime". Conspiracy charges have become a convenient police tactic used against movement activists around the country.

The eleven were said to have perpetrated eight bombings since August. Among those mentioned were explosions directed against private cars belonging to cops, a suburban draft board, an Army recruiter's car, a semi-secret Central Intelligence Agency recruiting office in Ann Arbor, and the University of Michigan's Institute of Science and Technology, which has been working on classified government radar research.

The arrested persons were: David Valler, Joseph Clever, Antoine Daghuvt, Ronald Pierce,

Sandra Rousseau, Deidre Flowers, Benjamin Parks, James Moscara, William Ladd, John Schmidtorth and Gary Miltimore.

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### A DISPATCH ABOUT DISPATCH

SEATTLE (LNS) -- Dispatch is a new journal out of South Vietnam. It started as a monthly, but plans are to go weekly as soon as possible. It is written in Saigon, flown to Seattle (where the copy is set and laid out by the underground paper, Helix) and printed and distributed from an "unknown point in California."

According to the first issue, "Dispatch is many things, but first and foremost it is a group of young journalists, writers and artists challenged by the barriers to communication they see dangerously dividing the Western World from Asia."

The first issue includes an article on the 1968 Buddhist Convention in Cholon, an interview with Buddhist monk Thich Thien Minh, an article on "What the Vietnamese People Want" by "the editorial writer of one of Saigon's leading newspapers," and a letter from a Saigon student who has been sentenced for "communist activities" and is in hiding.

Subscriptions to Dispatch are available at \$10 for 52 issues or \$5 for 25 issues. Write to Dispatch, Inc., 635 Milwood Ave., Venice, California.

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### LAWN ORDER

SEATTLE (LNS) -- Richard A.C. Green, a 30-year-old instructor of classical languages who ran for state land commissioner on the Republican ticket in Washington as a joke, lost his bid against the Democratic incumbent.

Official sources felt that his poor showing at the polls was partially due to his campaign motto: "Lawn order." Greene promised that if elected he would "go out fearlessly and commission the land." He also asserted that he would turn the site of Boeing Co. into a wilderness area.

Greene, who had entered the Republican primary on a lark won handily over three opponents



a week after departing for Hawaii to fill a teaching post. Political analysts attributed his strong showing in the primary to his name. He had made no speeches and had distributed no campaign literature.

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#### U.S. COMMITTEE TO PROTEST MEXICAN REPRESSION

NEW YORK (LNS) -- A national campaign to focus attention on the repressive political situation in Mexico and to work for the release of Mexican political prisoners has been launched by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Statements of protest can be mailed to President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, Presidential Palace, Mexico City. The justice committee has published a pamphlet entitled "Mexico 1968--The Students' Side of the Story" which can be obtained for one dollar from USLA, Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001.

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#### GI PROGRAM MARCHES ON

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS) -- The movement program directed at GIs and others under the yoke of the military is continuing. Coffee houses are by now the best known aspects of this movement, but there are other programs in entertainment and education. For further information write to Support Our Soldiers, 373 Green St., San Francisco, Calif. Phone 415-434-1619.

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#### VOCATIONS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

HAYWARD, Calif. (LNS) -- Vocations for Social Change, a publication which lists job openings in "social change organizations and independent efforts all over the country" has just released its November issue, a supplement to the October listings. The organizations listed run the political gamut from reformist through revolutionary. For the November issue or back copies write to: Vocations for Social Change, Inc. 2010 B Street, Hayward, Calif. 94541, or call: (415) 581-4015.

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#### ART FOR THE KIDS SAKES

BROOKLYN, N.Y. (LNS) -- Maybe Brooklyn's uptight about the kids being out on the streets all day instead of in school. Or maybe this borough of New York City decided to start its own cultural revolution. In any case, the Brooklyn Museum and other cultural institutions in Brooklyn are now offering programs specially for children between the ages of 6 to 12. Free courses carry such inviting titles as Cultural History, Anatomy of Wild Life, and Creative Expression. Workshops and special programs have been scheduled to continue for the duration of the school strike.

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#### SPEAKERS' WHO'S WHO

NEW YORK (LNS) -- WBAI, the listener-sponsored Pacifica radio station in New York, has formed a Speaker's Bureau in response to the growing demand for speakers connected with the station.

For a booklet listing the speakers or for information about hiring speakers, write to: Speakers' Bureau, WBAI, 30 East 39th St., NYC, 10016. Or call the publicity dept. during business hours at: (212) OX7-2288.

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#### CAMPAIGN TO KEEP CLEAVER OUT OF JAIL

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS) -- Eldridge Cleaver is scheduled to return to prison at the end of November unless the worldwide campaign that has been launched to keep him out of jail achieves success. The California Adult Authority, which is seeking to revoke Cleaver's parole, convinced a State Court of Appeals to overturn a prior ruling which freed Cleaver on the grounds that he was being persecuted for his political views. Information on the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver may be obtained at 495 Beach St., San Francisco, Calif. 94133.

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NO FREE FOR ALL PAGE THIS PACKET, FOLKS, 'CAUSE NOTHING'S FREE. BUT MOSTLY, BECAUSE NOBODY SENT IN ANY MESSAGES, BY LETTER OR BY BOTTLE OR BY ANY OTHER MEDIUM. LET'S HEAR FROM YOU, PEOPLE!

STUDENTS LIVE TO FIGHT ANOTHER DAY:  
FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

By Victoria Smith  
LIBERATION News Service

STORRS, Conn. (LNS) -- Some 150 to 200 students and faculty members at the University of Connecticut marched out of the university administration building Nov. 12 after state police and administrators threatened a confrontation.

The group had occupied the building for about 24 hours, printing hundreds of dollars worth of literature on the university's Xerox machine. During the occupation, the administration sent in several notes, at first pleading for the group to leave or negotiate and finally threatening arrest. At this point, the administration seemed to want a confrontation.

Fortunately, the cops couldn't rally their forces in time to carry out the threat, and the group decided the best tactic would be to leave now and come back soon. The few local cops on hand watched helplessly as the students paraded out of the building into safety.

The immediate issue provoking the occupation was a demand for amnesty for eight students and four faculty members who were singled out from a crowd of a hundred and were placed under fire for their participation in an anti-Dow demonstration the week before. According to Charles Brover, assistant professor of English, the administration had attacked him and the 11 others in an attempt to discredit the leadership of the movement at the University of Connecticut.

The Dow Chemical Co. interviews were moved from the placement office to a large boiler room which could accommodate about 150 people. Naturally, demonstrators took advantage of the space. As a result the administration filed allegations against the twelve and threatened them with "severest institutional penalties." Criminal charges have not been filed.

Brover pointed out that amnesty was not the real issue behind the occupation of the building. The university's inextricable connection with monopoly capitalism is the issue that

has motivated most of the Connecticut movement's recent action, he said.

Brover said that the movement will persist in exerting pressure on the university in the immediate future while it continues to broaden its base on the campus.

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CLEVELAND COPS TRY DISPOSABLE HANDCUFFS

CLEVELAND, Ohio (LNS) -- Cleveland police are testing disposable handcuffs. The cuffs are made of nylon straps and they lock by means of a steel spring. They have to be cut off the prisoner's wrist once attached.

A pair of cuffs is priced at about 50 cents. A police lieutenant in Cleveland said that the cuffs are too expensive for everyday use, but are perfect for mass arrests of demonstrators.

"You could carry a half dozen pairs in your hat," he said.

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PROGRAM FOR RADICAL WHITE ORGANIZING

CHICAGO (LNS) -- The National Organizing Committee, a group dedicated to radical organizing among young and working-class people throughout the country, has just published a leaflet detailing its 13-point program. It calls for the unity of all working people around social and economic issues and the war.

NOC is currently developing other educational materials, tips to community organizers and a film. The committee also helps local groups to obtain other films and materials, and can provide speakers. It has full-time people at work in a number of midwestern and border state cities.

For copies of the program leaflet and other information, write to the NOC office, 4401 North Broadway, Chicago, Ill. 60640, phone 312-334-8040.

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IN MEMORIAM: JOE HILL

SALT LAKE CITY (LNS) -- Joseph Hillstrom (Joe Hill), IWW organizer and troubador of labor, was executed here on Nov. 19, 1915, on a murder charge frame-up. On the last day of his life, he telegraphed William D. Haywood: "Goodbye, Bill. I will die like a trueblue rebel. Don't waste any time in mourning. Organize." -30-

# FOUR POEMS

by Ita Jones

LIBERATION News Service

In the morning pale and familiar  
while the shadows rustle  
the teapot murmurs  
the birds arrange themselves upon the frozen sill--  
enter me and leave  
the first snow of your day.

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I wind my early way to work  
watching each man who darkly wraps himself in drink  
sit in wet corners of the station, old warrior,  
one wants the bulge beneath your tattered coat to be  
a mandolin.

\* \* \*

Russische leider,  
with which tongue shall I sing  
your bitter words  
your Slavic whisperings  
which push my August night  
into the shadow of a winter moon;  
with which hand shall I count  
the new regrets  
passed from blue lip to lip  
of those who recognize  
your failing?

\* \* \*

I am coming--  
close the night  
for the night and let me see a few red berries  
and the weeds in the bending  
of another day.

The river moves  
a yellow rustling past my mind,  
its yet reflected trees  
and all your eyes.

\* \* \*

# FLOOD TIME

by Mark Kramer

LIBERATION News Service

Our country's all turned 'round.  
Even the men in charge felt  
To move to higher ground  
Was to lower themselves.  
They straddle rooftops now  
And wait for an ark.

## RICE: FROM THE NEW ERA KITCHEN

by Ita Jones

LIBERATION News Service

There is a type of rice, which spreads across the eastern world (most predominantly India and Turkey) under names akin to pilaf, pilav, pilou. Pilaf, while not possessing the simplicity of "Chinese/Japanese" rice - has its own mystical nature, as subtle and varied, as colorful and interwoven as a raga.

Pilaf is built of a series of strata. The first layer of flavor is worked into the liquid in which the rice will eventually be cooked. Most simply this is done with different flavor bouillon cubes. The depth that can be attained is endless though. The liquid that comes with any canned vegetable such as carrots, peas, corn, etc., should be saved in a clean glass jar and used when you are making "stock," which is the term for flavored water.

Likewise, when you cook fresh vegetables, the liquid should be saved. (These can be stored for a week in the fridge and used not only for pilaf, but soups and stews which will be covered in the weeks to come). They may be stored separately or mixed, depending on the quantity, the types, and your imagination. But don't just collect them. They add more than flavor. The minerals and vitamins of vegetables quickly dissolve into the water they are cooked in (which is why they should always be cooked in as little water for as short a time as possible.) Tossing these liquids down the drain is another part of the all-pervading middle-class sleepwalk.

So then, into a pot you place water plus any liquids you have saved, to total 1 3/4 to two cups (for one cup of rice). Add a couple of bouillon cubes, bring slowly to a boil and then cover and simmer until the rice is ready.

While you are waiting for the liquid to boil, begin to work on the second layer of flavor. In a large pan or pot, heat some oil. When the oil is quite hot, add a cup of raw rice and bring it to a light brown color, stirring often. While the rice is browning, add the herbs and spices. Turmeric is cheap and works beautifully for yellow rice, but use four or five

different spices, lightly at first, until you know what each one does.

Once the seasoning is worked in, add your sliced onion, mushrooms, chopped tomatoes, raisins, etc. (all prepared beforehand in little bowls ready to be tossed into the frying rice) and bits of chicken, meat, or fish, if you have them. The process should be quick, so the rice doesn't get too brown or the stock cook out in the meantime. Have everything you want to use standing next to you. When everything is lightly sauteed (about a minute or two), add the simmering stock, stir once, cover tightly, and cook over a low flame the same as you would cook plain rice--15-20 minutes.

When the rice is soft and steaming, sprinkle over the final dimension of taste, a little soy sauce, half a lemon squeezed over, a few blanched almonds, here too the list would be endless.

Before long, a skill and sensitivity will grow in you. Without a conscious thought you'll take into consideration the balance of colors, textures, flavors, aromas. Not only will you think of sampling the seasoning, but your careful eye will judge the brightness of the greens and reds, and without a second thought you'll toss in leftover pineapple. A pilaf builds instinctively, naturally.

Talking about food for the revolution, the fight and after, may seem irrelevant to some who have not as yet considered how the people will be fed or how they themselves will eat. The most important thing to keep in mind is that technically, revolution in America will be very difficult and take more than a few months. Hence, without the people, there will be no revolution. Without the farmers on our side, the cities will not eat, the transport will not bring, our stores will be empty and our people hungrier than they ever were under capitalism.

Radicals all too often think of revolution as an exemplary act: we will do--they will see the light and follow. Some even talk of revolution as though it is enough that it flow from deep resentment and frustration, which the public will begin to feel as the situation here

grows worse. If this is all we have left in us then we are doomed to failure. People driven by fear and frustration alone will not build a new way of life and will be all too easily disenchanted when our mistakes are made, and we will make mistakes.

The country is not behind us at this point. This must be faced and dealt with. Without the people, the revolution can go nowhere. Do you plan to coerce the farmers to grow food? Do you plan to drive the trucks yourselves? Who will distribute the food? Can New York City survive a year?

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#### GENOVESE STORM BREWS AT ROCHESTER

ROCHESTER, N.Y. (LNS) -- Professor Eugene Genovese, the New Left historian who specializes in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, is the center of a controversy at the University of Rochester.

The school's history department wants to hire him to replace Bernard Wasserger, the civil war historian who just left Rochester. But the Rochester administration, afraid of Genovese's long-time advocacy of New Left causes and his association with a Marxist interpretation of history, wants to keep him off the campus.

Thus far, the controversy is bogged down in administrative hassling. When the administration turned down the request of the history department for Genovese by questioning his "academic qualifications," the history department arranged to have all department chairmen review the case through a special committee.

That committee has not yet given its OK to Genovese, and the next step is up to the administration. The students in the history department, which has been described as the most radical on campus, are anxiously awaiting a verdict, and they are already annoyed at faculty members who have urged them not to make it a political issue but to proceed diplomatically.

Genovese, one of the founders of the now defunct magazine *Studies on the Left*, obtained national attention a few years ago when he was fired from Rutgers University for saying that

he would welcome an NLF victory in Vietnam.

The young scholar then joined the faculty of Sir George Williams University in Montreal. Though still on the faculty there, he is currently a lecturer at Yale University.

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#### NIAGARA REGION OF SDS COALESCES

by Allen Young

LIBERATION News Service

ROCHESTER, NY (LNS) -- An unprecedented turnout of more than 200 students attended a conference of the Niagara Region of SDS at the University of Rochester Nov. 8-10. The conference was the first for many of the students, and they used the opportunity to develop a new structure for the region, which encompasses all of New York State except for the New York City Metropolitan Area. It was reorganized into eight districts to facilitate organization and communication.

Some students came from nearby Pennsylvania campuses, such as Mansfield State College. ("We have had two demonstrations in a hundred years and they were both this year.")

A number of high school students were on the scene, and there were discussions of high school organizing and repression--"We had an underground paper that folded, but it's started up again now that Nixon's been elected...No matter what you do, they're gonna zap something on you."

A student from Mohawk Valley Junior College in Utica wanted to know what you do on a campus with "no SDS, no nothin'" and a girl from Bardonia, Annondale-on-Hudson talked about plans to place pressure on apple growers who exploit migratory workers.

Chip Marshall, Niagara regional organizer, and a member of SDS's National Interim Committee, told the gathering, "Our movement is going to be forced to grow up," he said. "We thought we had a movement, but all we had was bodies." It is not enough, he added, to have "once or twice a year orgasms...There's been so much talk about fighting in the streets that people don't know what they're fighting for."

A resolution proposing that SDS officially adopt "socialism" as its programmatic guide was tabled. While there was considerable support for the idea that socialism is "a key tenet of the movement," most of the students seemed to feel that people in SDS chapters don't know enough about socialism yet."

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#### STRIKE CALL FREAKS OUT PENNSYLVANIA TOWN

LANCASTER, Pa. (LNS) -- A call for an Election Week strike in local high schools was met with an overkill reaction by the Lancaster establishment.

At McCaskey High School, in the center city, black students were already in a state of rebellion, and with the threat of the strike, school was closed on the Thursday and Friday preceding Election Day. School authorities said that no students could bring to school any leaflet or pamphlet advocating striking, sitting-in, or "truancy" or anything "uncomplimentary to teachers or students of any race." Students who violated this rule, the principal said, would be suspended or expelled.

At Manheim Township High School, in the white suburban middle-class area, students were threatened with suspension when strike plans were announced. One girl was told she would be expelled if she didn't tell who printed a strike call leaflet. The principal of the school said, "I don't care what kind of opinions you have -- don't bring them in here."

A meeting planned for high school kids for November 4, the day of the strike, at Franklin and Marshall College, was cancelled by the administration because the room had not been arranged through "proper channels." It was learned that pressure from parents and local authorities was directed against the college.

On November 3, one of the strike organizers, Christian Eaby, editor of the Lancaster Free Press, was arrested on a three-month old Federal warrant. Eaby was chained around the waist and taken by car to Philadelphia for processing. He was charged with "mailing obscene post cards" last January. The arrest apparently stems from

a nationwide campaign to return junk mail reply cards with anti-war slogans written on them, though reports of the arrest in the local press made no reference to the political character of the arrest. Eaby's wife, Kathleen, told LNS that his arrest on the morning of the student strike was a "strange coincidence," given the fact that the warrant was sworn out Sept. 10.

Kathleen said that "the strike was a failure anyway, since most kids were too intimidated. The strike was perhaps premature in that kids were not well enough organized for the incredible shit that started flying. The kids had no idea that the people, that is, the school and the parents, and so forth, would be so freaked out. We learned, however, that there is a great deal of potential support in high schools."

Funds are needed for the legal defense of the suspended high school students and of Christian Eaby, and money may be sent to the Lancaster Free Press, Box 592, Lancaster, Pa. 17604.

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#### DUPONT, LORD OF DELEWARE

NEWARK, Del. (LNS) Delaware's only family. Delaware's only University. This is the theme of an in-depth report on the ties of the E.I. du Pont de Nemours Co. to the University of Delaware published in the current issue of the HETERODOXICAL VOICE, the radical paper published near the University of Delaware campus (Box 24, Newark, Del. 19711).

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#### MEXICO: AN OVERVIEW

by Sheila Ryan

LIBERATION News Service

(Note to Editors: The following article is a summary of recent LNS coverage on the Mexican situation. Many papers have now published accounts of the conflict between striking students and the Government, but we offer this item for those papers who have not published any stories or who wish to offer their readers an up-to-date overview. Photographs and other graphic material to accompany Mexican coverage have been included in several recent LNS packets.)

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MEXICO CITY (LNS)-- University students in Mexico City continue to strike, and the Mexican Army continues to occupy the National Polytechnic Institute, in violation of the Mexican tradition of university autonomy.

The students, under the direction of the National Strike Council, are devoting the time they usually spend in classes to an intensive effort to politicize workers and peasants in Mexico City and the small villages surrounding it. To a lesser extent, they are going into the isolated rural states of Mexico, carrying the same message, in an attempt to build a national alliance of students, workers and peasants, to force the government of Mexico to adhere to its own constitution.

The National Strike Council has recently ended a moratorium on demonstrations it had established in order to prevent a repetition of the massacre which occurred on October 2nd at Tlatelolco, a middle class housing project in Mexico City.

At least 200 students and workers were killed in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas at Tlatelolco, though responsible estimates place the number at up to 500. The number of wounded will never be known. The government has refused to release the figures on the number arrested, but the Mexican press said that about 1500 were imprisoned. Most of them have not been released.

The Plaza de las Tres Culturas was filled with families on Oct. 2; many had brought their children along, since the government had given assurances that the demonstration would not be met with violence. Without warning, the troops opened fire. "The crowd was running, while soldiers -- firing at the people -- were coming in from the rear," wrote Tim Reynolds, an eyewitness to the slaughter.

He told Liberation News Service, "The sound of the guns was deafening and continuous, like a waterfall. In basic training in the military, I sometimes heard three KD ranges going at once, but this was ten times the noise; the rattle of rifles over everything, and occasional louder explosions (grenades, I thought, or cannons of

some kind). This sheet of sound went on for about an hour. It was nightmareish. What could there be left to shoot at, for God's sake."

Last week, according to a telephone dispatch from I.M. Bandita, the LNS correspondent in Mexico City. Mexican President Diaz Ordaz told a group of Bankers, "If necessary, we will have two, three, many Tlatelolcos," in a play on Che Guevara's promise of "two, three, many Vietnams."

The conflict between students and the government flared into the open in July, when government troops seized upon a stonethrowing incident between boys from competing schools as a pretext for occupying a school and beating students on the streets. A protest against government action in that incident, of the 26th of July, and an independent but concurrent demonstration in support of the Cuban Revolution were suppressed by the military. According to the National Strike Council, at least 35 students were killed between July 23 and 29.

By the end of July, the Mexican government was desperately trying to push the protesting students behind a freshly painted facade of a "democratic Mexico" in time for the Olympics. The students were agitating feverishly, to insure that the world would see through that facade. Student "political brigades" began to go into the neighborhoods of the city, into the factories and into the villages that surround the city to ask for the support of the people.

On August 14, the students organized a demonstration of 200,000 people in the Zocalo, the huge main square of Mexico City. In the crowd were electrical workers, railroad employees, teachers and taxi drivers, who offered to join the student strike if their demands were not met. (The government oil workers attempted a strike, but it was broken by troops.)

By the time of the demonstration in the Zocalo, the demands of the students had been codified: 1) immediate release of all political prisoners arrested since July 26; 2) immediate removal of high-ranking police officials; 3) indemnification for the families of the dead and wounded; 4) abolition of the laws against "social dissolution" (a catch-all statute allowing the arrest of

political radicals); 5) freedom of speech; and 6) freedom of the press.

Last month, the National Strike Council appended three conditions which the Mexican government must meet before discussions can begin on the demands: 1) the immediate withdrawal of troops from all occupied schools; 2) the end of repression; and 3) the release of all those who have been imprisoned for political reasons during the conflict.

Some measure of the popular support for the strike can be taken from the attendance at the meeting of the National Strike Council of Oct. 14. In addition to the representatives of 7 schools and faculties of the university, there were delegates from 400 peasant and worker strike committees. The participation of workers is in defiance of their government controlled unions. Peasants near Mexico City are participating in the Strike Council through the Federation of Southeast Towns, 250,000 members strong. The Federation rose out of student organizing efforts in the town of Topilejo this summer.

Now that the Olympics are over, and the scrutiny of world opinion gone, no one can predict with certainty what will happen. There are constant rumors of the onslaught of violent government repression, and student strike leaders are constantly disappearing.

I.M. Bandita, LNS correspondent in Mexico City, writes, "The movement has been decimated by the massacre at Tlatelolco and by the jailings, killings and disappearance of its leaders. The army and police refrained from further violence during the Olympics because, 'The eyes of the world are on us.' But after the Olympics is another story -- and no one wants to talk too much about the prospects.

"Perhaps the best portrait of Mexico now is the white dove of peace on the green billboards (put up around the city in honor of the Olympics) -- the dove with red paint running down its wings,

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(NOTE TO EDITORS Papers which have been following the Mexican situation will be interested in the following story on the most recent developments, sent from Mexico City by LNS's correspondent, I.M. Bandita.)

#### MEXICAN MOVEMENT AT A CROSSROADS

by I.M. Bandita

LIBERATION News Service

MEXICO CITY (LNS)--The 15 day moratorium between striking students and the government is over, and the Mexican movement is at a new crossroads. The first public rally since before the Olympics pulled a large crowd of nearly 10,000 people to the University campus. Many, however, expressed dissatisfaction at that number. Some students said that the movement at its peak could attract up to 100,000 at a public rally.

Since the public rally (held Oct. 31) different schools of the university have been meeting to decide if and how the strike will continue. Some leaders feel the direct confrontations -- the demonstrations -- should not be a part of the strategy, as the retaliation of the military brings massive repressive measures against the total population. Others feel that the movement in its present form has exhausted its possibilities: that it has succeeded in demonstrating that Mexico is not a democratic country ("Mexico stands revealed before the world,"). This group feels that the next step is to study what happened, to hold discussion groups and politicize people through analyzing the events that took place and the history and politics behind them.

There is also disagreement as to whether the students should continue the education program among the workers. Some leaders are of the opinion that the student should politicize his own kind. The university is by no means united behind the strike. A referendum this week showed schools like political science, economics, law, medicine, etc. supporting the strike, while others, like engineering, veterinary science, and architecture are divided.

Leaders who feel the students should stay on campus say that the student has nothing to offer



the worker, who has his job and his family to lose. They say that as the students are serious about organizing the workers, they should stop being students and take jobs in the factories. The place of the student, they say, is to reform the university, to create "la universidad critica" ("the critical university"). Fields of study should be humanized so as to graduate a professional who will recreate structures in society instead of just fitting into the existing ones. The artificial barriers between administration, faculty and student must be abolished; "students will be on the same level of the faculty and the administration will do just what the word implies -- administrate to our needs as we see them."

Meanwhile, the repression continues.

On Nov. 5, police seized 50,000 copies of the magazine PORQUE? from its printers and burned them. PORQUE?, which means WHY?, is the only publication which speaks out constantly against the government's abrogations of the Mexican constitution. The magazine recently featured an expose on how the government trained and paid provocateurs to discredit the movement. Editor Mario Menendez said that in the past two months, the magazine has had to change printers six times as the government harrassed and/or bought out the small shops doing the job.

To get the last two issues out, the staff of the magazine stood armed guard as the printers feared government-inspired terrorism against their shops.

Menendez was recipient of the 1967 Cuban award for international journalism. His magazine often features articles on black power and Chicano movements in the United States, and guerrilla movements in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, etc.

The movement in this country is in a state of crisis and it faces several alternatives:

++ It can continue to confront the government publicly, but this means that the government will retaliate with as much force as it feels is necessary -- and it is inclined to over-

emphasize rather than under-emphasize the force necessary. The government has no concern for public opinion since most publications one way or another are controlled by or receive money from the government.

++ It can choose the "analytical road" -- go back to classes, study the events of the past four months and hold discussion groups to politicize people. However, this will probably lead to a government-sponsored public relations campaign; prisoners will be released (except for the most "dangerous" ones; leniency will be shown toward students in academic affairs as they return to classes. And so forth. Thus, many will continue to feel that Mexico is a democratic country, that the harsh measures of the government to deal with "agitators" was successful, and that indeed there was an "international plot to discredit Mexico before the eyes of the world" -- and that the plot failed.

++ Another alternative is, of course, to take to the hills -- as many students have done since the massacre at Tlatelolco.

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#### FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TRACKS

By Julius Lester  
LIBERATION News Service/Guardian

(Hold for release until Sunday, Nov. 17. Copy may not be altered. It is obligatory to append the following: "Reprinted from the Guardian, radical news weekly, New York.")

White middle-class America now has a President it can call its own. This is the middle-class America of people who have "pulled themselves up by their bootstraps." It is the middle-class America of the Puritan virtue of all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, but so what? It is the middle-class America of housing subdivisions midway between the cities and the suburbs, the middle-class America of rectangular lawns that are mowed on Saturday morning and car washing in the driveway on Saturday afternoon and a drive out in the country on Saturday evening. It is a respectable world of people who believe in the system, because the system worked for them.

Richard and Pat Nixon, Spiro and Lady Agnew are model representatives of this world. Each of them came from backgrounds that were poor, but they struggled, they worked, they sacrificed and they made it. They not only understand black America, Spanish America, poor white America, they resent the insistent and angry demands these people make. Spiro Agnew cannot understand that it doesn't matter a damn that his father was a Greek immigrant who conquered the odds he faced. Agnew's father had a white skin and in America, that matters.

The new leaders of the "free world" are not only incapable of understanding the dispossessed, they are incapable of understanding the young white people who have fought against the system. These young people have grown up with the advantages the Nixons and Agnews did not have. Nixon probably resents them the most. He grew up resenting them, as any poor boy resents those who are better off economically. Those who elected Nixon resent them also.

Nixon was not elected by the people of America's large cities. As Murray Kempton wrote in the New York Post on Nov. 6, "there seems to be no city larger than Peoria from which he has not been beaten back; he is the President of every place in this country which does not have a bookstore." While Kempton's statement has a touch of Gene McCarthy intellectual snobbery in it, it contains much truth.

The people of rural, small-town America are ill equipped to understand the social upheavals of the past eight years, but it is they who have elected the man who is going to have to deal with it. Many of these people and certain segments of the large cities flirted with George Wallace for a while. But they decided to try Nixon's "cool" approach to fascism rather than Wallace's "hot" one. (Yes, it was an election that could be understood from a McLuhanistic analysis rather than a Marxist one.) They decided to see if Nixon could restore the country to Mother and God before they opted for a Wallace.

This became very clear in the Congressional races. It was expected that the country's swing to the right would be most apparent in Republicans coming to power in the House. This never materialized. It was almost as if the country were saying, "Let's wait and see. Let's go halfway. Maybe that'll be all that's necessary."

And maybe it will be. The left is in a state of disarray and frustration. At such a time, it has begun to show a tendency of activism for the sake of activism. This does not necessarily mean that it's the correct thing to do politically. People are getting busted all over the country in acts which mean little, and are no longer getting 30 days for disorderly conduct. Those days are over. The man is playing for keeps now.

The question can even be raised of whether or not there exists anything called "the movement." There is a vast body of frustration coupled with radical sentiment which is, in the main, oriented toward demonstrations. Is there, however, a body of people organized to build a movement that can have, for example, the effect upon unions which the Communist Party had from the 1930s until McCarthy in the 1950s? ("Aw, whadda you mean? The Communist Party? It's irrelevant.") Is there a body of people organized to build a movement that can have the impact which the International Workers of the World had? ("The IWW? Yeah, they were groovy.") The left isn't even as well organized as the Democratic Party in its present state of disarray.

The only way out of this dilemma, of course, is to start building cadres of organizers. America presently thinks that the left, blacks and the war in Vietnam are its main problems. Such is not the case. We only know America's problems as they affect us -- the draft, spiritual malaise, etc. But America's problems have only begun, given the increasing number of labor strikes, the current New York City school crisis and the new consciousness it is bringing to the liberal middle class.

What's going to happen when the war in Vietnam is over and those GIs finally come home? After

all, the biggest employer in America is the Pentagon. What happens when a half million men re-enter an economy which is already unable to provide enough jobs?

The left has reached a point where it must either find the way to evolve to a new level of political activity or die. The past eight years have had a fantastic impact upon the country and the country has responded with reforms and now, with repression.

Possibly one answer lies in a direction in which few wish to look. The liberals, having been in power for almost eight years, are now out. It is a mistake to think that they, who have so seldom tasted power, will accept their defeat calmly. Maybe they will, but if Murray Kempton, a liberal Democrat, is any indication, maybe they won't. He ends his column of Nov. 6 thus: "Richard Nixon occupies us. If that is the name of the game, that is the game we will play. This morning a battle slumps exhaustedly to its end. This afternoon the war begins. To the knife."

Maybe that means nothing more than let's start working now for Ted Kennedy in '72. Maybe it means something else. We have nothing to lose by trying to find out.

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#### THE LNS SONGBOOK

Today's song is "The Internationale," written in France in the 1870s by Pierre Degayter and Eugene Pottier. The song has long been associated with the international socialist movement. It was the national anthem of the Soviet Union from the time of the bolshevik revolution until the Second World War, when it was dropped as an act of unity toward the United States and Great Britain. This coincided with the abandonment of the Comintern and the initiation of a policy based on national, rather than international, communism. Today, the song is rarely sung in the nations of Eastern Europe, though it is frequently heard in Cuba and is used by some Communist Parties out of power.

#### THE INTERNATIONALE

By Pierre Degayter and Eugene Pottier.  
(Translation by Charles H. Kerr)

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!  
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,  
For justice thunders condemnation,  
A better world's in birth.  
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,  
Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall!  
The earth shall rise on new foundations,  
We have been naught, we shall be all.

#### REFRAIN:

'Tis the final conflict,  
Let each stand in his place,  
The international working class  
Shall be the human race.

"We want no condescending saviors,"  
To rule us from a judgment hall;  
We workers ask not for their favors;  
Let us consult for all.  
To make the thief disgorge his booty,  
To free the spirit from its cell,  
We must ourselves decide our duty.  
We must decide and do it well.  
The law oppresses us and tracks us,  
Wage slavery drains the workers' blood;  
The rich are free from obligations,  
The laws the poor delude.  
Too long we've languished in subjection,  
Equality has other laws:  
"No rights," says she; "without their duties,  
No claims on equals without cause."

Behold them seated in their glory,  
The kings of mine and rail and soil!  
What have you read in all their story,  
But how they plundered toil?  
Fruits of the workers' toil are buried  
In the strong coffers of a few;  
In working for their restitution  
The men will only ask their due.

Toilers from shops and fields united,  
The union we of all who work;  
The earth belongs to us, the workers,  
No room here for the shirk.  
How many on our flesh have fattened;  
But if the noisome birds of prey  
Shall vanish from the sky some morning,  
The blessed sunlight still will stay.

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#### ESTABLISHMENT REPORTERS UNDER ATTACK

LIBERATION News Service

NEW YORK (LNS) -- Two establishment newsmen faced a barrage of complaints about coverage of the movement at a forum held Nov. 12 at Columbia University.

John Kifner, of The New York Times, and John Merriman, of CBS's Walter Cronkite news show,

both expressed sympathy for movement goals, and tried to explain the pressures and limitations on reporters and editors in the straight press.

But the audience wasn't convinced:

"Why do cameramen harass people filming who don't have press cards?"

"Why do the pigs surround and protect newsmen as they go in to beat demonstrators?"

"Why do cameramen only shoot pictures of demonstrators with beards and sandals?"

Kifner, an under-30 reporter who prides himself on his close contacts with radicals at Columbia and elsewhere (he used to work for SNCC), drew the wrath of many in the audience when he defined his profession as "an honest job."

"The news is sold to large corporations and businesses," said one young man in the audience. "It's not possible to be sympathetic."

Kifner tried to explain the difficulties of covering street demonstrations and of working with conventional middle-aged editors and rewrite-men.

"But why do things always get distorted in the same way?" shouted someone. "They always make the movement look bad and make the police look OK."

"You refuse to represent the press. You talk about your fights with editors. Yet the paper remains the same. You can't do anything unless you quit or make a revolution."

Paul Krassner, editor of the Realist, mediated the dispute, urging movement people to enjoy a "mutually exploitative" relationship with the bourgeois press.

During the latest HUAC hearings in Washington, the daily papers were anxious to cover anti-HUAC street theater, Krassner said.

"They were begging the street theater people to please do something," he added. "That's the kind of slanted journalism that we in the movement are almost too happy to overlook."

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We are still not receiving some publications in our office. Please check your mailing plates today, and be sure two copies are going to LNS at 160 Claremont av., New York NY 10027. Thanks.  
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NOTE TO EDITORS: The following article about Tijerina is unusually long, but due to its significance, LNS is sending it out in the hope you will find space to publish it or to serialize it. It is especially important in that it provides a critical view of a controversial man who has been idolized by the movement press for more than a year.

#### REIES TIJERINA: A CRITICAL VIEW

By James A. Kennedy  
LIBERATION News Service

(Editor's note: The name of Reies Lopez Tijerina has become practically synonymous with the Chicano, or Mexican-American, movement in the Southwest United States. Usually portrayed as a fiery revolutionary, Tijerina has another face -- the face of the messianic visionary, the naive traditionalist. The following article was written by James A. Kennedy, a member of SDS and the New Mexico Peace & Freedom Movement who has followed the Chicano movement since he moved to New Mexico four years ago.)

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ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. (LNS) -- The raid at Tierra Amarilla, N.M., on June 5, 1967, presented to the world a new picture of the American Southwest. It was the picture of U.S. internal colonialism, of the oppression of the Mexican nation of the Southwest and the first major notice that the Chicano people were beginning to fight back.

Nothing anyone writes or says can alter the place of this date in the liberation struggles of the peoples of the Southwest who have endured 120 years of gringo occupation and colonialism. Nor will anyone be able to deny the catalytic role played by the charismatic spokesman of the disenfranchised Mexican poor of northern New Mexico, the former Assembly of God preacher and farm laborer, Reies Lopez Tijerina.

Whether Tijerina was present at that raid (a matter that is in the courts) is irrelevant. His was the spirit, the vision and the voice that galvanized the campesinos of the north for renewed resistance. He had sown the seeds of the movement that is now growing in diverse forms. He and his followers had shown the Chicano of the Southwest that they had not lost their

manhood and dignity. The gringo might rob them of their land and debase their culture, but they could and would fight back. Whatever other judgment history will make about Tijerina and his Alianza, it will never erase this major contribution to the liberation struggle.

Whatever final judgments that are made should come from the Mexican people and the Mexican liberation movement in the Southwest. The function of this article is to present a balanced view of a highly complex and yet terribly simple man, a man of great sincerity and almost unbridled ambition, a man with the charisma of social leadership and the vision of a primitive rebel. It is not the function of this article to judge, but in striving for balance, a number of myths will be dealt with, and a number of unpleasanties deliberately overlooked or suppressed by radicals and movement people working with Tijerina will have to be noted.

Reies Tijerina has been variously viewed as a Chicano Malcolm X, a latter day Zapata or Villa; some have even projected the images of a Fidel or a Che. Others have seen him exclusively as a demagogue, a charlatan, a power hungry ego-maniac.

The former have created a myth; the latter have lost all perspective and have distorted reality.

Tijerina is more like what the British Marxist Eric Hobsbawm has defined as a "primitive rebel," in an epoch when primitive rebellions may emerge as larger social and genuinely revolutionary movements.

If one is to look for parallels with Tijerina, then the more accurate one would not be Malcolm X, but Elijah Muhammad. While Tijerina is by far the superior of the two in vision and in the scope of his work, but the two are very similar in historical role and perspective.

Like Muhammad, Tijerina has played the very basic role of initiator. And like Muhammad, the movement is beginning to move beyond Tijerina. Whether he will move with the Chicano movement, or be left in an historical gallery, having fulfilled his function, is too early to say.

The politics of Reies Lopez Tijerina are NOT the politics of revolution, nor are they in any

real sense the politics of the twentieth century. Tijerina's politics originate in the Book of Revelations and the angry prophets of the Old Testament, such as Jeremiah. He is, in 1968, a monarchist, a serious, though messianic, monarchist. His is not the revolutionary tradition of Hidalgo or Bolivar, Juarez, Zapata or Villa, but the autocratic tradition of Imperial Spain. He does not so much have a vision of the future as a dream of a golden past. He is not fired as much by innovation and progress as by restoration and return.

His vision of the Land Grants and their return to the Mexican people, as provided for by solemn treaty, is not so much to begin to rationalize the economic condition of the Chicano and begin the struggle for agrarian reform, though that element is indeed present, as it is to undertake the restoration of the Pueblos of the old Spanish heritage.

His dream is traditionalism, but in voicing that dream he has given expression to the oppression and the feelings of cultural genocide that his people have endured at American hands for more than a century. And in giving expression to his people he has projected a series of issues and concepts, that whatever their origin, have a revolutionary impact on the consciousness of the Mexican people.

Of all people, he has best articulated the idea of "la Raza" in New Mexico -- the one area in the Southwest with both a continuity of resistance and a history of collaboration by the old aristocracy and other strata of the population. Most of the local governmental and repressive forces in northern New Mexico, including the district attorneys, state legislators, sheriffs and cops, are Mexican.

"La Raza," the people, the new breed, are a young people, a young nation born of Spanish conquistadores and Indian mothers. They are indigenous to America, to the Southwest. More than most men, Tijerina has broken down the myth of Spanish purity that is common among New Mexicans and has laid the foundation for alliances with Indians in the Southwest, alliances that have

seen some slight beginnings between two hostile oppressed minorities.

It does not matter in the long run that Tijerina's own motivation for this effort, his own concept of La Raza is caught up in messianic mythology. (As he once told an interviewer: "It was God that selected them....Marriage between Indians and Spaniards was legalized and a new breed was born. The Indians had the blood of the ten lost tribes of Israel. The Spanish had Jewish and Arab blood. A new breed was born from two great bloods. A santa raza (holy people), who would find justice, was created.")

The logic of Tijerina's view is to reopen the concept of the Mexican people of the southwest as a unique people, a distinct nation with all the inherent characteristics possessed by a nation, including the right to self-determination. And the logic of his reassertion of the integrity of his people, stripped of the mystical verbiage, has become an important part of the whole Mexican nationalist and liberation movements in the Southwest. It finds expression in the Chicano-influenced Peace & Freedom Movement in California, in the program of Denver's Crusade for Justice, in the views of the younger militants such as the Brown Berets, and, in northern New Mexico, Los Comancheros.

Tijerina pioneered, when no one else was willing, not even such a dynamic and revolutionary Chicano militant as Denver's Corky Gonzales, in building working relations and alliances with Black militants and revolutionaries, and then later with poor whites. Recently, in his bid for governor of New Mexico on his own party's ticket (the People's Constitutional Party), he openly gave voice to the unity of the Mexican (or Indio-Hispano, as he prefers), Black, Indian (his running mate was an Indian from the San Juan Pueblo), poor white, hippie and intellectual. He denounces the rich and promises the poor of New Mexico an alternative. As a candidate, he claimed he would empty the jails of those who are there because of their inability to have had a fair trial because of race and class, and would fill the cells with the politicians and elements

of the power structure. He promised to enforce New Mexico's bi-lingual laws, and to restore the Mexican culture to its proper place and to use the police power of the state to enforce the rights of those social forces he sees himself representing.

Yet behind what appears to be a clearly radical and class-oriented program lies the reality of Tijerina's politics and his naivete. His dilemma, his confusion, his mythology, and even what are essentially his reactionary aspects, all interact with his radical instincts and his social conscience.

While large sections of the movement in the Southwest as a whole and in New Mexico have moved beyond or avoided this strange dialectic, Tijerina's radical allies in the Anglo and Black communities refuse to deal with it, even when they are aware of it. And one can make a special point of this in terms of the relations, totally uncritical and servile, of the Communist Party in New Mexico with Tijerina.

Tijerina said to me only a week or two before he decided to run for governor: "Jim, you know the Bible begins with Kings and ends with Kings. That is God's will for Man. A corrupt republic is so difficult to change -- but in a monarchy one can remove a corrupt King and right things so much more easily." He then went on to discuss the most difficult aspects of his political philosophy -- his thoroughly unhistorical view of the continuing legitimacy of the Kingdom of the Indies.

According to Tijerina, neither the U.S. nor Mexico has any claim on the Southwest. He maintains that there was no real support for the Mexican revolution against Spain in New Mexico (this is, in fact, erroneous) and that Mexico exercised its "illegal" hegemony over the Southwest at the connivance of the U.S.

His reasoning is that the Spanish throne for the Western Hemisphere, its Kingdom of the Indies, is still de jure the legal authority in this occupied area.

The logic of the argument -- extended by Tijerina follower and "pretender to the throne"

Jerry Noll, alias Don Barne Quinto -- is the negation of the Mexican revolution and indeed all the Republican revolutions against Spanish tyranny in this Hemisphere in the past two centuries.

Tijerina supports in one fashion or another the claims of Noll, which must be examined if we are to obtain a full understanding of the peculiarities of the Alianza -- because this support is a crucial example of both the primitivism and the traditionalism of Tijerina and his movement.

Jerry Noll lays claim to the Spanish crown on the basis that Ferdinand VII "abdicated" his right to the Kingdom of the Indies (Western Hemisphere) to a local aristocratic family. Noll claims he is the heir of that family and that these are his dominions and that no one has authority over them.

Noll, who was ordered to undergo psychiatric observation by the Federal Courts, is a pudgy little man who fancies himself an authority on International Law. He insists that the Latin American Republican revolutions, especially the Mexican, were invalid -- as was Mexico's claim to its northern lands (the U.S. Southwest).

He is of the belief that monarchy is of divine origin and that the upsurge of republicanism is a Jewish and atheist plot. His rigid adherence to his private myth has even led him, according to one informant, to write to the National Democratic Party of West Germany (the neo-Nazis) for support for his claim.

Tijerina has provided Noll, at various times, with an official platform. At the Alianza convention in October 1967, Noll was featured as Emperor of the Indies and allowed to appeal for support for his claim -- a claim that Tijerina would not disavow directly.

Noll demanded in that speech the fealty of his subjects and told them that as a benign monarch he would give them a better break than the gringos had. Of course, he never went into the fate of some others who live in the Southwest -- the Jewish community, for example -- given Noll's admiration for Hitler and his seemingly

paranoid anti-Semitism.

More recently, early this summer, following the Poor People's Campaign, Tijerina was seriously toying with the idea of pressing Noll's claims to the crown in the courts. Tijerina told me that one of his lawyers, William Higgs, formerly of Washington, D.C., thought it might be a wise tactic if it did not isolate Tijerina from the rest of the movement. Tijerina also suggested to me that perhaps a conference of Black, Chicano and other movement leaders could be drawn together at which Noll would give them a constitution, establishing thereby a rival center of power to that of the oppressive government in Washington, D.C.

In a more recent discussion that I had with the same lawyer, Bill Higgs, the question of Noll and his claim came up. Higgs told me that Noll's claim could well be a major revolutionary tactic, that it was dogmatic Marxism to oppose the monarchist claims of Jerry Noll or to believe that there was anything reactionary in negating the revolutionary history of Latin America.

Higgs also firmly indicated that whatever Tijerina was doing now or whatever he would do in the future merited the label "revolutionary." To think otherwise, Higgs said, was to misunderstand social movements, because individuals like Tijerina by themselves do build revolutionary movements and struggle.

If the Anglo radicals around Tijerina support or remain silent in the face of this kind of obscurantism, this flight back to a time that never was, can one expect any real progress in the Alianza?

Tijerina's egotism and his autocracy are such that he has never permitted the building of a real movement, of grass roots organization with collective leadership at the local and overall levels. All leadership is in his hands, and he brooks no meaningful challenges -- with the result that a considerable number of the best organizers and workers have broken with him, including one of his brothers.

Unlike, say, Corky Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice, there is in the Alianza no real organizing of a mass movement around all the

issues of oppression that affect the Mexican people and their colonial status. The Alianza is basically limited to the land issue, even though it has broadened its horizons somewhat recently. It has no real ongoing structure locally or regionally. When Tijerina is away or in jail, it effectively stops functioning. When he is home, it operates, but without any coherent program or outlook.

Community organizing is simply not considered. No real effort has ever been made to create a youth movement. The larger urban areas in the Southwest are ignored. Questions of police brutality are taken up only when the struggle has already been initiated by others (e.g., the Brown Berets). Tijerina, as noted above, views himself as a national leader who does not need organization and the views of some around him only encourage this delusion.

Tijerina will react to situations and movements, but he seems unable to develop a comprehensive program. If he is around radicals for any length of time he will begin to sound like a radical -- he will talk of class oppression and the need for class unity. He will come to a Peace & Freedom convention in New Mexico and discuss the legitimacy of guerrilla warfare, then go to liberals and denounce all violence.

When Tijerina declined to run with Eldridge Cleaver on the Peace & Freedom presidential ticket, movement people concluded that probably Cleaver is far too militant for Tijerina -- who, despite the image of the Tierra Amarilla uprising, is, as one Chicano militant put it, a conservative man afraid of violence and of losing his image.

Tijerina asked Peace & Freedom to support his bid for the governorship (he claims he got the idea as an inspiration one day in court, though a local Communist Party national committeewoman claims she first made the suggestion) -- but he refused Peace & Freedom any help in fielding its presidential ticket in New Mexico. I see two basic reasons for this:

1) Peace & Freedom in California dismissed Tijerina's suggestion that they support Robert Kennedy and they did not favor his views on the need to work with people like Kennedy

2) "The shrewd Jew who runs Peace & Freedom wants to use me and my people." Anti-Semitism is a recurrent theme in Tijerina's world view, though it has been considerably modified as he found Jewish radicals willing to fight at his side. Its origins are undoubtedly his fundamentalist training.

There are those who think this indicates Tijerina's opportunism -- and there is a strike of opportunism and headline-hunting and a desire for acceptance in Tijerina. (During the Poor People's March, some Chicano militants called him TVrina.)

A more essential aspect is Tijerina's inability to project a coherent strategy. Instead, he engages in sustained struggle coupled to a sense of his own importance, and he has a knack for often doing things without forethought or apparent reason. That may well be the source of his "inspiration" to run for governor and create a full-scale party to do it. It may also be his inability to resolve the apparent contradiction between the needs of the moment and the long-range needs that resulted in a campaign which can only be characterized as reformist at best.

Tijerina, who brought people associated with the Kennedy campaign in Southern California to run his campaign, began with the very conscious desire to build a movement of the poor.

His aim was to project on a political basis the coalition of forces he had welded for the Poor People's Campaign in the Southwest -- to become their articulator, their tribune. He talked of a massive voter registration and education drive, and the building of grass-roots and community organizing through his campaign.

And then his ego, and some of his more ambitious advisers, it would seem, intervened. Now he was not going to run for governor with an Indian running for lieutenant governor. Now his aim was not a protest vote, nor the use of



elections as an organizing effort.

Now his sights had changed again -- the state house and the White House were within his ambition.

Tijerina's reasoning, as explained to me and my wife by Tijerina and Higgs, was based on an intricate set of votes and political coincidences that would enable him to use New Mexico's four electors as the deciding vote in the Presidency.

In fact, Tijerina was ruled off the ballot on the grounds that he has been convicted of a felony (seizure of Federal lands during the Tierra Amarilla uprising), and his stand-in candidate, Jose Maestas, received 1,800 votes, about one half of one per cent of the total.

In any case, this ambition was the driving force that impelled Tijerina to launch his campaign, to field an entire ticket: presidential and vice presidential candidates, two congressional candidates (one was Higgs, who moved into the state only a few months ago), candidates for county seats, etc.

Reliable reports from people close to Tijerina and the northern scene provided conflicting views of the impact of his election venture. There are those who were convinced that it was an important organizing, political and radical step. There are others who were convinced that it was suicidal and a desperate venture -- indeed, one of his brothers has so described it.

They see its result as the destruction of the Alianza. Some see this occurring already. They have talked with Alianza people who felt betrayed, who have broken with the Alianza because they don't believe that this is a serious campaign. Others are angry that Reies announced his intention even before he had discussed it with the Alianza--and though he promised NOT to run should the Alianza refuse to ratify his decision--they were in fact presented with accepting him or causing him to lose face in public.

The vote, of course, was insignificant. While the 1,800 total certainly further diminished by votes stolen from him, Tijerina had

predicted 20,000 only three days before the election. Now, his showing will be used to show he has no following. More serious, it will be used to say that the issues he has raised, the struggles he has helped to launch, the real importance of Tierra Amarilla are of no real significance to any but a handful of "bandits" and "desperados." And this could well retard or damage the movement's growth in New Mexico.

On the other hand, perhaps that has already been done. The real impact and import of Tierra Amarilla seems to have been lost on Tijerina and the Alianza. Its potential was frittered away in court fights, in fund raising rallies, and in stressing the importance of Reies Lopez Tijerina NOT the liberation struggle of the Mexican nation in New Mexico and the Southwest.

Certainly large parts of the Chicano movement though there has been no public break with Reies, have moved beyond Tijerina and the Alianza. The questions of national and social liberation, the creation of ongoing community organization and activity, the emergence of vanguard forces with clear class and national consciousness--eg. the crusade for Justice and Brown Berets--and their formulations of real programs comparable to the Black Panthers and SNCC, the sense across the southwest of La Raza and its integral struggle with the rest of Latin America--all indicate a growing maturity in the Chicano movement.

Without question that growth rests on foundations Tijerina helped to lay--but he did not do it alone; without question the drama he helped to unfold on June 5, 1967, at Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico gave the movement a great impetus.

But whether Tijerina can transcend his own vision, whether he can grow and develop on the basis of the positive things he has contributed or whether he will remain a captive of the negative aspects described in this article, only time will tell.

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(Note to editors: See photo of Tijerina elsewhere in the packet.)

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ATTENTION! WHEN YOU SEND US NEWS CLIPPINGS, ETC.  
PLEASE PUT A DATE ON THEM!! (Chronology helps!!!!)

OUTSIDE AGITATOR

by Ralph J. Gleason

LIBERATION News Service

"We will be fighting a long time," Norman Mailer says in "Miami and the Siege of Chicago," a paperback book that is fully as necessary as Che or Fanon or any other textbook.

We need maps. This is uncharted territory even though there is history and history seen clearly is a map, but of what has passed. You only need to look out the back of the car to know who's following. But there are still lessons to be drawn from history and the good books are the maps.

This is a good book and it needs reading in this time when the paroxysm of politics has seized the country and especially when the voices of madness cry out and are heard, when Max Rafferty says he didn't hit hard enough with his mindless yammering against the phantoms of Marx and sex and lawnmower. And when Jerry Rubin, clad now in a professional hippy costume that looks as phony as the state mark disguised as a Haight street tripper, can say to a Daily Californian reporter that long hair and beards make you into the "new nigger."

The wages of sin is death and the wages of harking to a false prophet is death, too. I think Mailer is right. We will be fighting for 20 years and 20 years again and it is the same fight Gully Jimson made and Joyce and Bird and Lenny Bruce and all the others back through history. Kenneth Rexroth wrote a poem about it-- "You killed him--you sons of bitches in your Brooks Brothers suits." I probably, almost certainly misquote the poet, to my shame, but the quote is close and he said it true, even though I saw him read it once wearing a button-down collar white Brooks shirt.

Ira Einhorn says this is the time to create myth and yea to that thought, but the myths must be real and not mythical and the concept articulated by Rubin speaks to a great and frightening urge in the huge wave of American white middle class kids who have seen the feet of clay of the

textbook America become legs and hips and then a heart of clay. They have a need to feel again. They have a crying, aching, breaking, yawning need to matter, to do something that matters, to be somebody. Light up and be somebody, the old time vipers said.

And the thing that Rubin spoke to is the need to feel as oppressed, as alienated, as spat upon, as jimcrowed as the blacks. Then you are driven into community. They have something you don't have in Los Altos or Shaker Heights or Great Neck.

But one of the cracks in the Free Speech Movement philosophy was the concept of the student as nigger. And the youth as nigger concept is wrong too. Cut your hair and use that Wilkinson sword blade and you have escaped, and no amount of skin bleach and no process can do the same thing. That makes a difference. It's what makes the difference in the blues as song. It's what makes the difference in culture.

"Go back to Berkeley," Stokely told them three years ago. Yeah. The thing is that all God's children got soul if only they can find it. Find your soul and don't try to put on somebody else's like a Halloween mask. You can tote that barge and sweat and strain all you want to and it doesn't change a thing. The junkie jazz musicians even couldn't break it all down to a place where nothing mattered and there was no color. It can't go down, it has to go up, up and away into the world that not only has to be, but the world that CAN be.

Back to the woods? No, but there at least you know your enemies. Know thine enemies, the law of preservation says. Know them well and realize that you--that we, that all of us--are what we are and that the only Regis we have around here is named Philbin and plays the fool.

Every Frenchman, every Maquis who fought the Germans whether in real life or in Combat was not a good guy even if he did have the right enemies. But having the right enemies is not the same thing as having the right friends. Every stud who blows a joint with you isn't a good cat at the least or a revolutionary at the best.

There are poets who wear ties and artists with  
more.....

short hair and lovers who are high all the time and never turn on because they LIVE that way.

It is thrilling to hear Rubin or Cleaver or some other speaker say fuck Raegan or Daley or whoever. It's thrilling but it is only ritual. Playin' the dozens on the corner.

This country has seen three great political movements since the Civil Rights Movement (in hallowed capitals) dried up in the reality of the society, co-opted by the poverty program and disenfranchised by Black Power (but it did aid black power) -- the Wallace party (white America united in hatred and nostalgia and fear), the McCarthy party protestant puritan intellectual Republican, biblically and constitutionally rational (--and it is no accident that Wallace got some McCarthy votes when it got down to the nitty gritty) and the Youth-hippie-Yippee thing. The youth-hippie force is the greatest single force White America has produced in our time and maybe in its history. It is leaderless and in the main formless, and it operated by heart and by feeling and not by intellectual discipline. It also seduced the poets who wanted to get out there like Dylan to the PEOPLE (all but Ginsberg, but he is without guile) and it seduced the politicians who thought that growing a beard and wearing sandals made them Brothers of the Haight.

We are in our purgatory now, whether or not the metaphysicians say we are. We have to grow and to go through this trauma in order to know who we really are. Haight Street is lined with teen-age wrecks staring with speed gutted eyes but before they made that last run, back when they had short hair and Mom & Pop, they had been lobotomized by the system to be ready to blow their minds into literal fragments.

The politicians are making their own concentration camp in Berkeley, voluntary exile from all over the country waiting to be swept into the Bay by the sheriff's patrol one night.

Nixon kisses Humphrey kisses Muskie will kiss Wallace by surrogate (a Mexican divorce turned around) and the only gesture that makes it is Gregory's Black House in Washington.

The Berkeley hippies and politicians and street kids hooted Rubin election weekend and refused

to sit still for his madness.

The time is past for ego trips and hypes and sham. So let us not talk falsely now, the hour is getting late. The poet said that and you better believe it.

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US and the Panthers--

#### CULTURAL NATIONALISM OR REVOLUTION?

by Earl Ofari

LIBERATION News Service

LOS ANGELES (LNS) -- Prior to 1965, there was little visible leadership among the approximately 600,000 residents of L.A.'s Black community. The Watts rebellion of that year, however, changed this situation. Watts signalled the need within the Black community for new, more responsive types of leadership and organization.

Almost immediately after the rebellion, in the early part of 1966, US organization was founded, under the direction of Ron Karenga. The letters--US--have no specific meaning. The ideological sentiment underlying the title, however, is clearly embodied in the organization's motto: "Wherever we are, US is." The "we" referring, of course, to Black people.

At first, US promised to provide the positive direction that the Black community lacked. Under the dynamic leadership of Karenga, US initially attracted a large following. The program that US outlined was based on the fundamental principles of Black Cultural Nationalism.

Black (ultural Nationalism is not a new idea. In fact, it is an ideal as old as the Black experience in white America itself. Black leaders from Martin Delany in the 19th century to the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, have at various times appealed to the latent nationalism within the Black masses.

The US organization, then, is just an ideological continuum of Black Cultural Nationalism's historic tradition.

The organizational structure of US is totally reflective of the policy dictates of Karenga himself. All of the members have adopted traditional African (Swahili) names. Karenga (Swahili: the nationalist) has of late insisted

that he be addressed as the Maulana (Swahili: Lord or master-teacher). The rationale which Karenga uses to justify this tactful bit of egoism, is that Black people are in basic need of a strong, identifiable leader.

Weekly lectures are held every Sunday as part of US' program for educating the Black community. These lectures, usually delivered by Karenga, have been ceremoniously dubbed "soul sessions." The lectures deal with different aspects of cultural nationalism and are only open to Black people.

In terms of emphasis and approach, the Black Panther Party is the diametric opposite of US. The Panthers, as is already well known, represent the strongest Revolutionary Black Nationalist force in America. The Panthers in L.A. have been in operation for approximately one year.

The Panthers are involving themselves directly in basic community issues, and are organizing around community needs. (One of the main projects of the L.A. Panthers has been a boycott of an A.B.C. chain food market located in the heart of the Black community. The Panthers have charged that the market sells inferior quality food at ridiculously high prices.)

But, it appears to be precisely its emphasis on African festivals, holidays, and fashion shows, rather than on tangible programs of immediate significance to the Black community, US has analyzed the problems of Black people in America purely in terms of racism. Therefore, it is US' contention that separation and Black Nationhood is the only answer to white racism.

According to Karenga, "The purpose of a nationalist should be to build and make the Black Nation eternal." Toward this end, Karenga has actively allied himself with Leroy Jones and his United Brothers in Newark. However, its program has the organization centered with the problem of U.S. Imperialism and the threat it would pose to an independent Black nation.

Karenga emphasizes the need to go back to tradition.... The Panthers hold the opposite view. They feel that it is unnecessary to return to the ancient traditions of the African past. The Panthers feel instead that Black people must

develop a revolutionary culture that looks forward. Culture, to US, is an end in itself, whereas the Panthers see culture only as a transitional stage of awareness.

US has completely rejected the notion of any type of class struggle in the United States. Karenga, on this point, has said: "The international issue is racism not economics...Racism rules out economics...Therefore, the essence of the problem today not as a class struggle but a global struggle against racism." This is not surprising, for Black Cultural Nationalists, since Garvey, have been strongly anti-Marxist.

The Panthers have rejected this bit of revisionism on the part of US, and see the problems in American society more in terms of a race-class struggle. They believe that white workers and students are also oppressed and exploited (although to a lesser degree than Black people) by America's handful of corporate rulers.

The differences between the Panthers and US seems to be irreconcilable. US appears to be on the road to liberal co-optation. It has embarked on one of the movement's latest kicks--Black Capitalism. Part of its cultural center has been turned into a business (House of Saidi). It has been reported that some of US programs are being financed by governmental agencies.

After Dr. King was assassinated last April, Karenga and other "militant" Black leaders were given special credit by the L.A. police, for keeping the Black community "cool." The Panthers, in turn, have been the victims of police harassment and assault. Three Panthers have died at the hands of the L.A. police.

US still clings to the idea of building a Black Nation on cultural values alone, at the expense of developing a practical long-range political-economic program.

Meanwhile, the Panthers here are busy attracting new members and rigging up their programs. Their ultimate goal is to play an important role in the development of a national vanguard revolutionary movement. Their goal, in brief, is the correct approach for bringing about the total liberation of all America's working masses, not just a certain segment.

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## FIDEL ON MEDIA

"And then you hear a revolutionary say: They crushed us; they organized 200 radio programs, so and so many newspapers, so and so many magazines, so and so many TV shows, so and so many of this and so and so many of that. And one wants to ask him: What did you expect? That they would put TV, radio, the magazines, the newspapers, the printing shops, all this at your disposal? Or are you unaware that those are the instruments of the ruling class designed explicitly for crushing the revolution?

They complain that the bourgeoisie and the oligarchies crush them with their campaigns, as if that were a surprise to anyone. The first thing that a revolutionary has to understand is that the ruling classes have organized the State so as to dedicate every possible means to maintaining themselves in power. And they use not only arms, not only physical instruments, not only guns, but all possible instruments to influence, to deceive, to confuse.

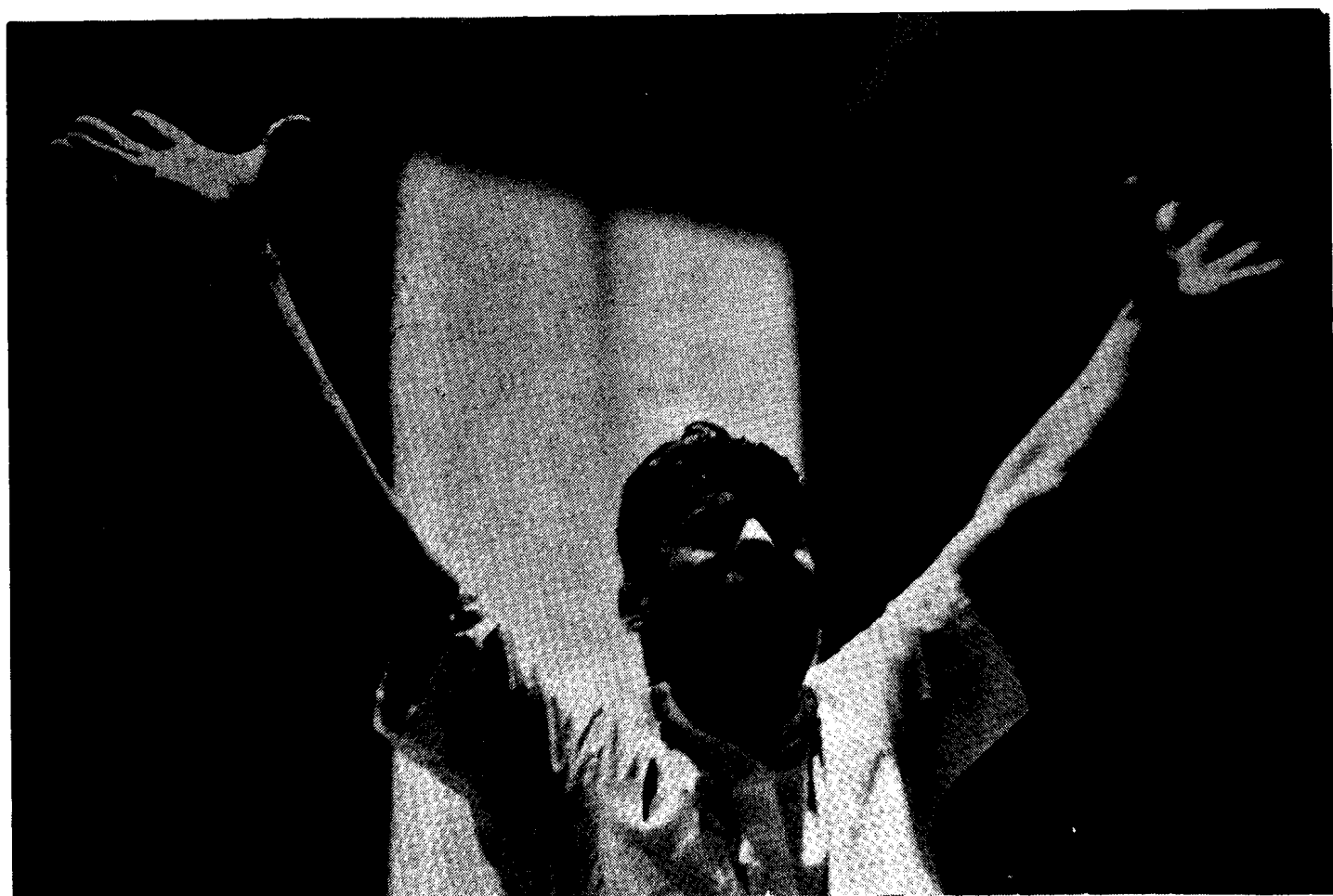
And those who believe that they are going to win against the imperialists in elections are just plain naive, and those who believe that the day will come when they will take over through elections are even more naive....."

--Fidel Castro

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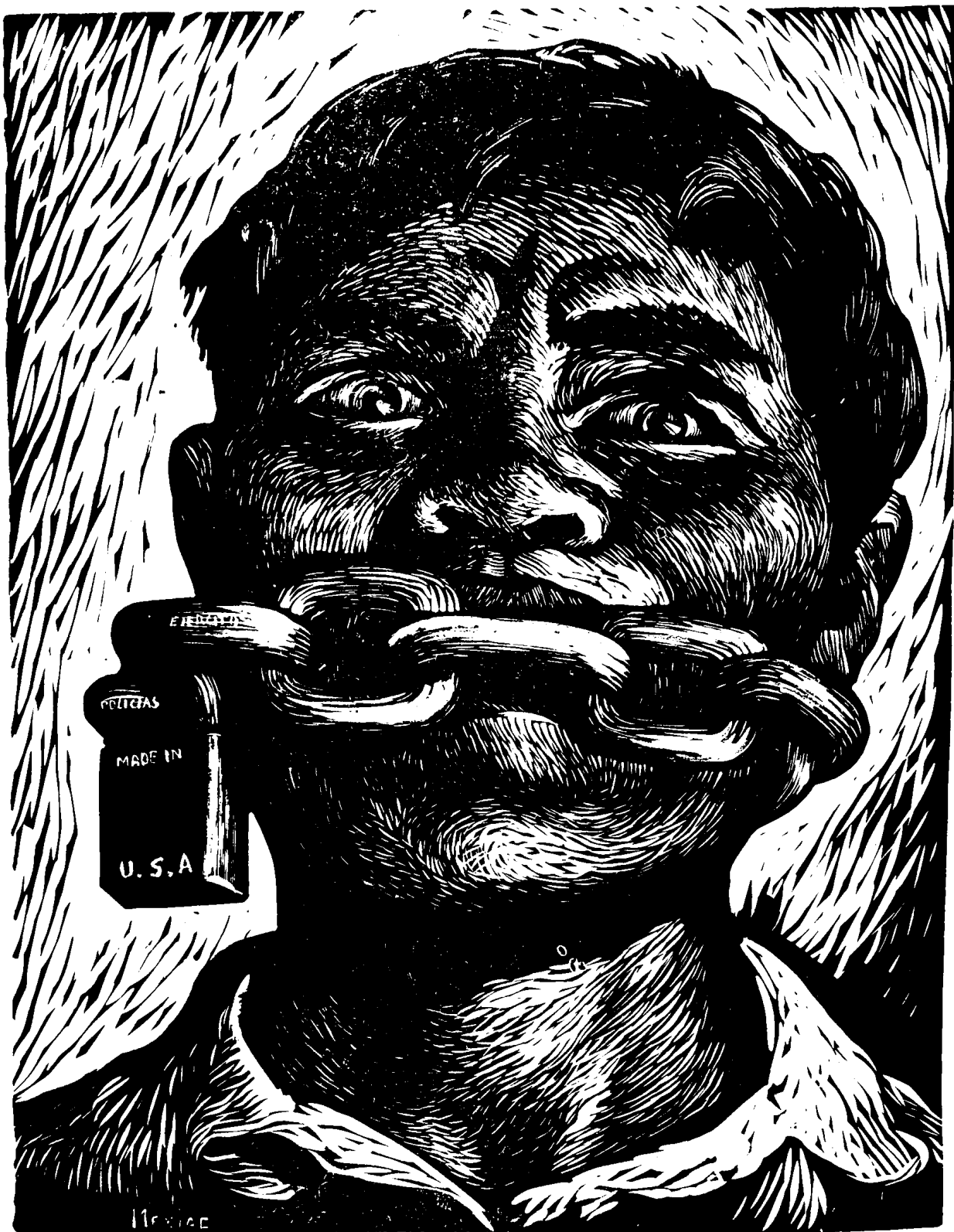
(Note to editors, and gentle readers: LNS spends alot of time putting in little shorts about feedback, about let's have some feedback, and thats because LNS really wants to give you what you want, need, etc. etc. So, keep on sending letters, telling us what you like, and how you are using it, and what you don't like. Better yet, let's have some hot news from you, because we want more info in the packet on the whole country, and the whole country means you, and you, and you, and you're our hot-line. Independence and dependence, independence and dependence, etc. In crises and emergencies, use the telephone too. (212) 749-2200. Your papers are coming in thick and fast every day, and fill our reading, studying, playing, working, happening rooms. KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK DON'T GIVE UP KEEP GOING WE LOVE YOU'BYE FOR NOW)

-30-



TOP: Jeff Segal behind bars. See story on Page A.  
Credit photo to LNS/ The Movement.

BOTTOM: Reies Tijerina. Photo by Nitoba/LNS. See story  
on Page 9.



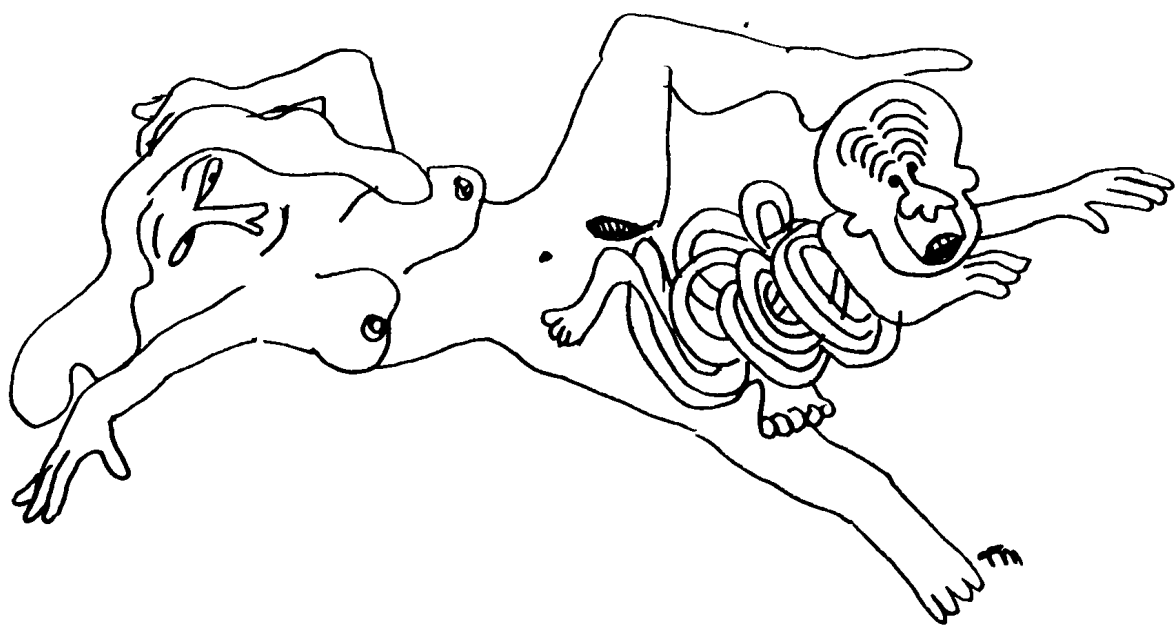
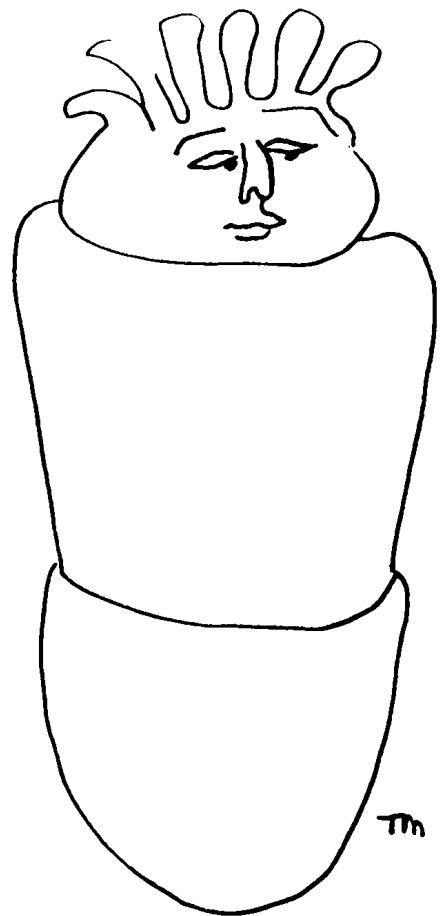
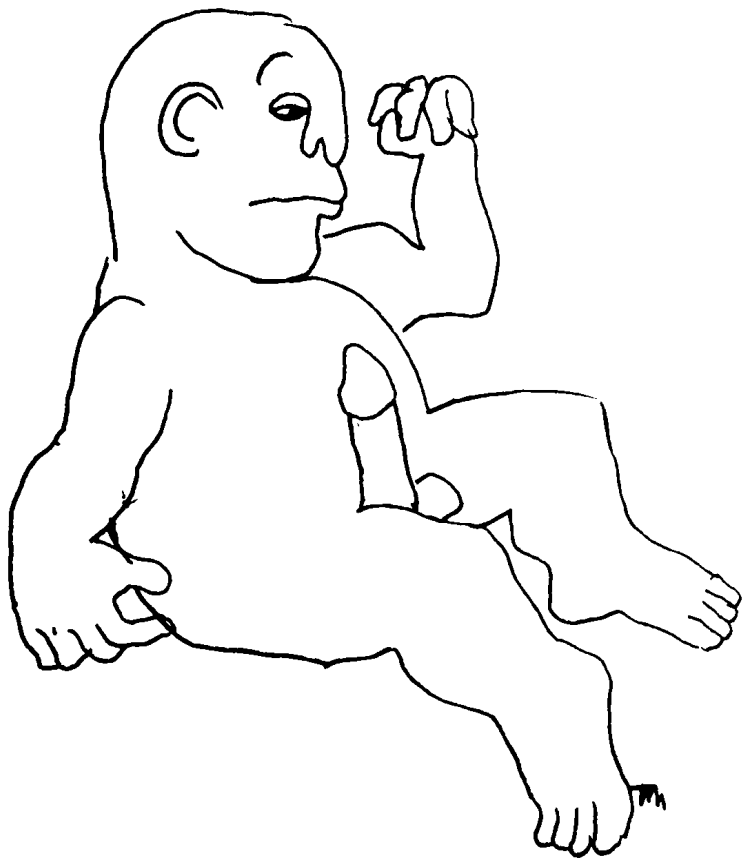
**LIBERTAD  
DE EXPRESION**

**MEXICO**



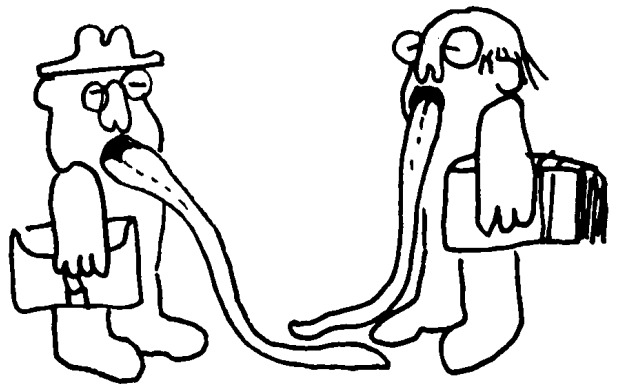
"LIBERTY OF EXPRESSION MEXICO 68"

A poster in honor of the 1968 Olympics: The repression  
of Mexico by U.S. policies and practice. Credit LNS.



More drawings by Trudy Minkoff/LNS.

How we use our body parts, how well we know our bodies.



TM

Columbia

Yum. Yum. And Yum. More by Trudy Minkoff/LNS. Yum.